Mhuk (plur. *mukuk*), a breast. This includes all who are supposed to be descended from a common ancestress. Often the direct line of descent from the founding ancestress is not known for more than three or four generations. The small groups which can definitely claim to be 'of one breast' constitute the distinct matrilineal groups which live together in separate hamlets within a village. Each is undifferentiated in relation to other matrilineal groups, but internally each is differentiated on the principle of sibling unity.

The main emphasis of the kinship system is on the bond between a man and his sisters. Their relationship is summed up in the word *mbumbe* (translated by Mitchell as 'sorority group'). A man speaking of his *mbumbe* refers to all the women he calls *sister*, their daughters, and their daughters' daughters. Strictly speaking, female kin in the ascending generations are excluded, as belonging to the *mbumbe* of his mother's brother. The 'warden' of a sorority group, *anyene mbumbe*, is the senior of the brothers and is responsible for the behaviour of the women in his charge; he appears for them in court and pays fines on their account. He plays an important part in the marriage negotiations. It is his duty to consult the diviner if his sister or her child falls ill, and to be chief mourner at the funeral of either of them, also providing medicine for the ritual purification at the end of the mourning period. Formerly these obligations were balanced by certain rights. He could sell some of them into slavery for his own personal reasons. This privilege is ended, but even to-day it is through his sorority group that a man achieves status and independence.

The principle of sibling unity is expressed in many other ways. A man and his sister reciprocally call each other *nkombwanga*. More usually, a woman calls her brother, elder or younger than herself, *mimwani* (a term of respect usually applied to a chief), for any brother may be regarded as warden of her sorority group. A man has the same duties to his younger brothers as to his sisters, so they also call him *mimwani*, but he calls them *mpwanga* 'younger brother', as they can never be in the position of warden in relation to him. Maternal uncles are called *nkwakuma*, and a sister's son *ripwa*.

Within each matrilineal descent group, differentiation takes place between members according to whether they are siblings or not. A man's sorority group included ideally his own siblings and their female matrilineal descendants. His sister's daughters are also the sorority group of his sister's son, their brother, so that any woman can belong at any one moment to the sorority groups of her brother, her mother's brother, her mother's mother's brother, &c., but the effective one is that of her own brother, if adult. He is consulted first in small disputes, and at the marriage ceremony each party is represented by a brother as well as by a mother's brother. In the break-up of a hamlet (described below, p. 12), siblings tend to hold together more closely than cousins and to form groups of their own, so that each woman in the descent line is a potential point of cleavage. Tension between brothers as they compete for control of the sorority group is a source of friction within the sibling group which eventually leads to its disruption.

Since marriage is mainly matrilocal, and extra-village, the husband in his wife's village is seen as a stranger by all the members of her matrilineal descent group. There is a tendency for members of such descent groups to live together in a cluster of huts. The word 'hamlet' is used by Mitchell to indicate a cluster of huts, in which

L: Yao E-4 (no date) 1950 F77 Yao F77

every adult member is a matrilineal descendant of a single ancestress, or a spouse of one of these people. All husbands are called *alamu* by the male members of the descent group, but husbands call each other by the kinship terms for elder and younger brother (i.e. *mkamwini* or *mpwanga*) according to the seniority of their wives. Similarly undifferentiated in kinship terms are the wives of all men of the descent group, who call each other 'sister'.

The husband is expected to work in his wife's garden, to help his mother-in-law, and also, in the early stages of marriage, to avoid her. His attitude to his father-in-law is one of respect, relaxing as time goes on. His attitude to his wife's brother is also one of respect, which covers feelings of latent hostility. Although husband and wife's brother co-operate in affairs relating to the woman and her children (e.g. they jointly consult the diviner in case of illness, and the brother-in-law hears grievances the husband may have against his wife), there are elements of conflict arising from their competition for the affection of the woman and her children.

Patrilocal marriages are the rule in certain cases. The village headman commonly has his wife in his own village. At his death his widow may return to her own village, but if her daughters have married locally she may stay, and one of her sons, as warden of his sisters, will also stay and marry patrilocally, as did his father, the headman. Thus a new matrilineal descent group, linked to that of the headman by a patrilineal link, develops. In every generation the number of separate but related matrilineal descent groups would double, and at such a rate of proliferation it might be expected that any village would contain many family groups. In fact, however, most members of a village can trace their descent from a common ancestress removed not more than about five generations. There are two reasons for this degree of homogeneity in the kin-grouping in the villages. One is that the villages tend to split up as they become too large and complex. The other is that the introduction of a new matrilineal descent group is often avoided by a cross-cousin marriage by the headman of the village or the warden of a nursery group.

There is a joking-relationship between cross-cousins, that is, for example, between the village headman's children and his sisters' children. The latter, as members of his descent group, have interests and loyalties opposed to those of his own children. Although there is a strong tradition of cross-cousin marriage, such marriages are said to be likely to be unstable.

Betrothal and Marriage

Child betrothal was common among the Yao. Acceptance of a loin-cloth and the wearing of it was taken of betrothal, giving the groom exclusive rights over the girl.[1] The negotiations for an adult marriage are conducted by senior matrilineal kinsmen of the parties, who at the subsequent ceremony act as witnesses or sureties to the marriage. Usually the senior is the mother's brother, and the junior the brother. The act of validation, the *Cingwaw* rite, takes place some time after the husband and wife have been living together. They meet in the hut of the woman for the rite, which consists in eating two pots of porridge, prepared by the female relatives of each party. The man's people bring a cockerel and the woman's a hen for relish. The exchange of food symbolizes the exchange of members of each matrilineal kin group, which is

[1] Macdonald, 1882a, vol. i, p. 118; Johnston, 1897, pp. 410–13.

NOTE

[24 (c)] Where I have used abbreviations for kinship terms I have followed the Rivers-Livingstone Institute convention:

M — mother	B — brother	H — husband
F — father	Z — sister	W — wife
D — daughter	S — son	G — sibling

Other symbols are built up as these, so that 'father's sister' is FZ and 'mother's father's sister's son's daughter's husband's brother' is MFZSDHB. Seniority is indicated by a plus or minus, so that 'elder brother' is + B and 'younger brother' is — B. I have used the combination XC to stand for 'cross cousin'.

had no hostile sons to grind. Younger brothers and sisters' sons might have used the military forces against him, or they might have squandered the wealth of the corvées because they had a jural right to it. As the sons grew older they were given groups of slaves and slave-wives to look after, and so they became village headmen under the chief. Many of them came to have initiation rights and hold other positions of importance.

The chief was also connected to other lowlier headmen through marriage. It is clear that affinal links become in time expunged, but the marriage of the chief with a headman's sister fixes the relationship between that headman and the chief in perpetuity. The succeeding chief does not look upon the village headman who is his mother's brother's wife's brother as a father-in-law, as he would if he were a commoner, but instead calls him 'brother-in-law'. Also, all the successors of the village headmen call all the succeeding chiefs by this term, so that the political structure of the area becomes phrased in a kinship idiom: the quasi-kinship of headman and chief in this context becomes suffused with political meaning. The number of village headmen who claim some affinal relationship to the chief is not great—only 10 of the total of 105 (i.e. 9·9 per cent).

TABLE VIII

PROPORTIONS OF RELATIVES AND UNRELATED HEADMEN AMONG THE NEWCOMERS

Chief's Relatives						Non-Relatives	Total
Direct			Clan				
Mat.	Pat.	Aff.	Mat.	Pat.	Aff.		
0 0	13 31·4	13 31·7	14 34·1	13 31·4	18 41·0	310 75·8	381 100%
7·3%			13·9%			75·8%	

Among the Aborigines and Newcomers, naturally, there are very few direct relatives. There are, of course, no matrilineal relatives. The patrilateral relatives amongst the Newcomers (3·4 per cent) are those of Kawinga who have moved into Chamba and Liwonde areas. There have been various mat-

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Relationship may be claimed not only through having the same clan-name, but also by patrilateral and affinal clan ties. For example, one of the early Kawinga is supposed to have married an *ahanda* woman. Therefore Chikwen, whose clan-name is *ahanda*, calls Kawinga 'brother-in-law' (*alamu*). Some of Kawinga's village headmen also call him brother-in-law because of the clan-name. Ngokwe, whose clan-name is *animbiri*, had an *amilasi* father, so that many of his *amilasi* headmen call him 'son'.

Here, as before, there are more Invader headmen who claim to be clan relatives of the chief (34·6 per cent) than Newcomer headmen (13·9 per cent) (see Tables VII and VIII). Once again the proportion of headmen who claim affinal links to the chief is approximately the same in the two categories and the main difference is in the proportions who have the same clan-name and who are clan-patrilateral relatives in the way I have explained. I have mentioned that though many headmen have the same clan-names as the chiefs or the clan-names of the chiefs' fathers, they do not all claim to be clan-relatives of the chiefs. There is no reason to suppose that the distribution of clan-members is different between the Invaders and Newcomers, so that it seems likely that more Invaders claim the clan-relationship to the chief when they can, than do Newcomers.

Unrelated Headmen

The striking difference between the two main groups of headmen is in the proportion not related to the chief. Among the Invaders only 35·1 per cent of the headmen cannot claim some kinship link to the chief. Among the Newcomers, however, roughly double that proportion (78·8 per cent) are in this position. Among the Invaders some of the unrelated headmen hold positions of importance by virtue of their independence of the chief. These are the *ndunu* whose functions I describe later.[1] Among the Newcomers, however, there are no *ndunu*, so that this difference between the categories is one of the most important.

In Tables VII and VIII I have omitted a total of 105 villages, 93 of which were small villages whose relationship to the chief I did not record. All these villages were settled in distant and inaccessible places and I asked about them from the chiefs and

[1] Chap. IV, pp. 92-3.

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The chief as an important village headman

[601] is usually addressed by a kinship term, either *baba* (father) or
643 *mshipi* (master or grandparent). When he is referred to, his
622 name is not used. Village headmen are owners or wardens of
554 villages (*anyaw mist*) but only those headmen of some standing
178 are referred to as *mweeye*.

Important village headmen, like the chief, are in mystical
643 danger from pollution by death. They cannot come to the hut in
622 which a corpse is lying; and they cannot eat the chicken which
554 has been brought to them by relatives of the deceased to announce
761 the death. Like the chief too, an important headman may be buried in a tomb in his village and not in the graveyard.

But an important element in their relationship nowadays is
643 that the Administration will support the chief against a village
622 headman when it comes to a trial of strength, and that a headman
554 these days is precluded by modern conditions from setting up
578 chiefdoms as he did in the old days. Village headmen therefore
691 must struggle for power against their fellows and the chief within the modern Administrative framework. Some attempts are made to resist the power of the chief but these are rarely successful. The dispute between Liwonde and Ndenda illustrates this.

Ndenda was an Ngoni headman, who in 1947 had 284 tax-payers under him (Liwonde, the chief, had 186 in his village). Ndenda had come into Liwonde's area before the White invasion and had surrendered with his relative Mielemba, to Liwonde. The second Liwonde had given him both initiation rights but, unlike his relative, he did not have the right to wear a scarlet headband.

In 1938 or thereabouts, Liwonde decided to move his village site from the Shire River to its present site about half-way up the Great Rift scarp. He sent two of his young men to look for a suitable site, and to plant some mango trees there when they had found one. Ndenda heard of this and sent one of his men to take Liwonde's men into custody. He took their hoes away and then told them to go back to tell the chief they were planting in his (Ndenda's) land. In due course Liwonde moved up to his new site, and asked Ndenda why he had taken the hoes away and whether he owned the country, i.e. was the chief. Ndenda now argued that Mielemba's ancestors had been given the rights of chieftainship over this area and that the first Mielemba in the area had given Liwonde some elephant tusks for these rights. Liwonde replied that the chief has a right to tusks and that many had given tusks to him but were not entitled for that reason to rights of chieftainship. Liwonde handled this situation by calling a meeting of the village headmen in the area. They assembled

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came to the village and in accommodating strangers while he was away. He told them that disputes were to be referred to the headman immediately. Turning to the new headman he said he had to report anything unusual that occurred in the village, and that he was authorized to arbitrate in small cases in his and surrounding villages.

Kawinga then left the centre of the crowd and went back to where he had been sitting. Then an officiating headman, addressing particularly the women, said, 'Only a few months ago there was a quarrel between the present chief and his elder sisters. These women ran away to Malemia's area in Zomba district without reporting the matter to anyone. This must stop. With effect from to-day any troubles must be brought to the headman without delay: he will settle them. A tree cannot grow without branches and a headman or a chief cannot be known without his people's respect. Do not behave as children. This man cannot do things alone: he must have your help. We leave him in your hands and we do not want to hear about any more trouble. Follow all the instructions the chief has given you.' He took his leave and Nyenje was taken back inside the hut. The people now dispersed to where there was beer and dancing.

The Structural Reincarnation of Village Headmen and Perpetual Relationships

There appear to be a number of significant aspects of the installation ceremonies. First, there is the ritual death and rebirth of the village headman. The heir is 'killed' by a blow with the fist on the forehead, but is reborn the headman. The Yao do not believe that the spirit of the headman is inherited by the heir;[1] he has only taken the name.[2] But socially he is born again and, logically consistent with this idea, he takes the wives of his predecessor without further marriage negotiation. He also takes over the property of the dead man, his clothes and his huts.

But this structural reincarnation of the headman has the important implication that the headman is immortal. He shares this characteristic with the group of which he is the leader. When

[1] As the Bemba do. A. I. Richards, 'Mother-right among the Central Bantu' in E. E. Evans-Pritchard and others, *Essays Presented to C. G. Seligman*, Kegan Paul (London, 1933).

[2] *Kulya lina* is a synonym for succeeding to headmanship.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT? Yao FT?

a village dies, so then does the headman die.[1] In his rebirth, he occupies the status that his predecessor held before he died, in both the kinship system and the political structure.[2] His mother's brother's children whom he formerly called 'cross-cousin' he now calls 'my children'. His mother's younger brothers whom he previously called *akwihome* (mother's brothers), he now calls 'my younger brothers' (*apwanga*), and so on. By the extension of this principle, an heir succeeds not only to the status of his mother's brother but also to that of the first of his name. Cigwaja VI, for example, calls the descendants of his mother's mother's mother's brother (Cigwaja IV) 'children'. In fact, he calls the children of any Cigwaja 'my children'.

Within the political field the same principle is used in establishing what we may call 'perpetual relationships'.[3] There are some village headmen who express their relationships to each other or to the chief by a kinship term. The headman Majoja, for example, is the 'son' of Nyambi. In fact, the first Majoja to establish a village was the son of the second Nyambi. The present Majoja is the third incumbent and three Nyambis have died since Nyambi II. Nevertheless, by positional succession both of the present incumbents are translated to the formative phase in their relationships, which is thus perpetuated to-day, and will be, in their view, for ever. The present Liwonde calls Kawinga 'elder brother'. Kawinga is in fact his mother's mother's mother's sister's son. The first Liwonde was the first Kawinga's younger brother. They invaded Nyasaland together. At this significant point in their history their relationship became fixed and then perpetuated in the political structure. This relationship, though phrased in a kinship term and moulded to some extent by the norms of kinship behaviour appropriate to the term used, is in reality political, for it fixes the relative positions of two villages through their headmen.

[1] Sometimes after a village has broken up and the name has not been heard of for some years, some survivor revives it and reassembles the village.

[2] Dr. Richards calls this 'positional succession'. See 'Some Types of Family Structure amongst the Central Bantu' in A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde (eds.), *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, Oxford University Press for the International African Institute (London, 1950), 224.

[3] This term was suggested by Dr. I. Cunnison's use of it for a similar practice among the peoples of the Luapula Valley. See his *Local Organization on the Luapula Valley*.

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621 603 links are usually forgotten, so that the two villages are known to be related, but it is not certain how. The matrilineages to which the two headmen belong recognize this forgotten link and they refer to this relationship as *ulenga ilukombana*, which I can only translate as 'distant relationship'. In Cikoja village, for example, the headman's matrilineage, or as I shall call it, dominant matrilineage, is related to at least two other villages. These are Mbande and Cibwana Kwenga, both in Jalasi's area. The links with these two groups cannot be remembered. The first Mbande and the first Cikoja, I am told, had the same mother. Neither the present Cikoja nor any of his villagers could remember the genealogy earlier than the fourth Cikoja. A section of Mbande village, nevertheless, lives in Chijwalo's area near Cikoja and there is a fair amount of co-operation between the two villages to-day. Cibwana Kwenga is by the same explanation a 'mother's brother' of the present Cikoja; he is called in whenever there are serious disputes in Cikoja's village, and brings the force of a senior relative to bear on Cikoja.

621 603 601 People who are thus vaguely and distantly related may express their kinship in many ways. For example, they say that they are 'the people of one founding ancestor or ancestress'. They may say that they are *aina Mamemba*, 'the people of Mamemba', or *aina Nkupe*, 'the people of Nkupe'. Mamemba and Nkupe here may be either a woman from whom they are descended, or a man who was the leader of the group when they first moved into the area. Where a man is mentioned as the founder the term is used for the descendants of the man's sisters. But like most terms for social groups its meaning changes in different contexts. In another context, for example, *aina Cikoja* means simply the people of Cikoja village and has no reference to matrilineal descent at all.

Other terms are more specific. The word *mpapo* may be used in the sense of one type or kind, as *pampapo pamo*. An arbitrator at an intra-lineage dispute said, for example, 'You people who have a case are people of one kind [*dumdo pampapo*]'. The word *cipapo* may be used in much the same way. But even here the reference may be to the entire span of matrilineal relatives whose relationship is vague and uncertain (*ilukombana*); or it may refer to a section of relatives having one known ancestress; or it may even refer to a segment within the section.

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making the oblation, pours the beer or sprinkles the flour at the root (*tyuno*) of a shrine-tree. As would be consistent with this way of looking at the lineage, genealogically-distant ancestors are said to be 'below' (*pasi*), so that if a Yao wishes to say that a certain person was a matrilineal ancestor many generations back, he would say that he was 'very much below'.

The Concept of 'The Mother'

The matrilineal descendants of the founder look upon themselves as having been fed from the same breast and may express this by saying 'we are of one breast'.[1] Deep sentiment is attached to the idea of the mother among the Yao. There is, for example, a sharp distinction drawn between those women who have had children and those who have not. When a woman becomes pregnant for the first time, she is given instruction in child welfare when she undergoes a special ceremony (*litowo*). This is a ceremony which is publicly announced and attended by most of her matrilineal and other kinswomen and acquaintances. No woman may attend this ceremony if she has not herself had a baby. Thus her change in status in the community is clearly shown by the public recognition of her condition, and the fact that she is initiated into secrets which are shared by other mothers only. Her position in the lineage is much enhanced when she becomes a mother. It is the most important step towards becoming a village founder herself.

The concept of 'the mother', in general, also appears in the boys' initiation ceremonies. Certain phases of ceremonies may be conducted only with the help of the women. They have to clap the rhythm to which the 'tailmen'[2] do their dances. Here all women are classified as 'mothers' and without their co-operation the ceremonies could not be conducted. During the same ceremonies these women appear with baskets of food on their heads. The tailmen remove the baskets and sacralize the

[1] *Tuli pelele pamo*. The word *mlango*, a doorway, is also commonly used. The idea in essence is exactly the same. It is the concept of the children who come to settle around a woman's hut door. It is used as *Gumdo pamlango pao*, the people of his lineage section.

[2] *Nu'mchiwo*. These are the functionaries in the initiation ceremonies. They carry medicated zebra tails during these ceremonies, and this gives them their names. See especially Stannus, 'The Wayao of Nyasaland', 229 *ff.*

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contents. Here once again the women, though they may have no boys in the initiation ceremony, are called 'the mothers'. The ritual co-operation of the mothers in the initiation ceremonies is paralleled by that of mothers and sons in political affairs: here sons are in charge of the villages, while their mothers and sisters form the nucleus of the localized kinship group, which in turn is the core of the village.

The ritual importance of the mother is nowhere more clearly seen than in the curse. The Yao believe that a mother may curse her child if he or she is disobedient or otherwise beyond control. Not many mothers do curse their children; the threat to curse seems to be more often used. Informants have told me of some mothers who have cursed their children, and the procedure and the wording of the curse have always been very similar. It is usually not applied to young children who could be punished by other means, but to adults and particularly adolescents. Usually the mother lifts her breast and points the nipple upwards saying, 'If you have never sucked from this breast nothing dreadful will happen to you.' The consequences of this are greatly feared. Where I have been told of curses, each time the child has either died suddenly shortly after the curse, or at least it has gone mad. The curse is vaguely supposed to operate through the ancestor spirits, but I could get no clear statement on how this happens.[1] Whatever the cause, however, the symbolic action of lifting the breast and the dire effects which are supposed to follow from this, indicate the importance of the mother in the lineage.

The Yao attach this sentiment, in general, not only to the mother, but also to all senior matrilineal female relatives. In general speech all female members of the matrilineage in ascending generations are 'mothers', and all members in the descending generations are 'children'. This fundamental relation of mother and child extends throughout the lineage. The Yao term *acinangolo*, used for the senior female members of the matrilineage, embodies this idea of 'the mothers'. More specifically, as far as men are concerned, the matrilineage is classified into

[1] Further evidence that the ancestor spirits are involved in the curse may be that madness is called *masoka*—spirits—and that it may be said of a madman that the spirits are beating him (*gakumpata masoka*). A curse may be revoked by blowing water out of the mouth, an act which is also vaguely connected with the ancestor spirits.

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'sisters' and 'mothers' because alternate generations are merged in kinship terminology and in behaviour. A man's sister's daughter, for example, is called 'mother', and her daughter (his granddaughter) in turn becomes 'sister'. A woman calls her male matrilineal descendants 'children' (*wawango*), or 'grandchildren' (*yitibala*); her matrilineal male progenitors 'mother's brother' (*akwelume*), or 'brother' (*alumbwango*).[1] By extension, therefore, another way of expressing common matrilineal descent is to say that two people are the children of one person, *alumbajume*, even though that person may be their great-grandmother. A term which is almost synonymous with this is *mwitumba cima*, 'in one womb', used as 'we were conceived in one womb', though once again the reference may be to a common grandmother. But the inclusiveness of these terms varies in different contexts. Any may refer to the matrilineage of maximal span within the village, or to a section of the matrilineage seen as a segmented organization of parts. It is only by reference to the particular ancestress that the range of the term may be determined.

The Unity of the Matrilineage

A person *identifies himself* most closely with the members of his matrilineage from whom he expects most help and whom he, in turn, is expected to help. If he is called upon to pay a heavy fine it will be the members of his own matrilineage who will club together to find sufficient money. They, more than others, support him in his quarrels. They come to his aid when he is ill or injured, by consulting the diviner and trying to find the sorcerer who is causing his illness, and by finding medicines which will bring him back to good health. They send him money if he has left the country and needs it to return. The goods he brings home from the labour centres will be shared mostly among his matrilineal relatives. They will find the food to be used at his funeral and also see that his burial is properly carried out. He owes these duties in turn to them. His property will stay almost entirely within the matrilineage after his death.

Relationship, unless qualified, is looked upon as being entirely matrilineal. This is well illustrated by the beliefs about the

[1] She more commonly addresses them as *acimwene*. See p. 147.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT? Yao FT?

The close [illegible] of brothers and sisters is also reflected in the kinship terminology. The common term used by both men and women to address sisters is *anwoli* and it is also applied to all women out of respect. But the term which is used descriptively and sometimes in address, cross-sexually, is *akubwanga* (my sibling-of-opposite sex). It is self-reciprocal and thereby expresses the special relationship between the man and his sisters. Two sisters address each other in everyday conversation as *anwoli*. When it is necessary to be more specific an elder addresses the younger as *akubwanga*. These are also descriptive terms. A man addresses his younger brothers as *apwanga* while they address him as *aiwowesi*. Women also address their elder or younger brothers as *aiwowesi*. This word is widely used as an honorific title but it is especially used for people who are in authority. The chief, for example, may be referred to as the *aiwowesi*, and men frequently call their mother's brothers and other senior matrilineal male relatives by this term. An elder brother has the same duties towards his younger brothers as to his sisters, so that use of the term of address *aiwowesi* here indicates his position of authority over them.

From the point of view of a warden, his sorority-group is essentially made up of his sisters. We have seen that he is responsible for his younger brothers in exactly the same way as he is for his sisters, though technically they are not his sorority-group. He also has control over his sister's children so that ideally a warden sees his sorority-group as his sisters and their daughters and their daughter's daughters and so on. But a man's sister's daughters will probably have as their warden their own brother who stands in the same relationship to them as their mother's brother stands to their mother. The matrilineage is therefore organized internally in a system of inclusive sorority-groups extending from the eldest surviving member down to the youngest. However, a component sorority-group of a matrilineage does not begin to appear as a corporate group until the man who is to be its leader is old enough to take charge of the affairs of the women under him. Naturally, the age at which this happens is largely a matter of circumstance. Theoretically a man may not take charge until he has been initiated. But Yao boys nowadays are usually initiated at about 8 to 10 years of age. Obviously a child of this age cannot take over the affairs of his adult sisters, so that his mother's brother looks after

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against Cikoja himself. It is important that not once is a member of the junior major segment, that is a descendant of Cidieko (A2), involved in the dispute. Only the descendants of Andiyo (D1) and Amalema (D2) are involved, with the exception of Salema who appears as the representative of the villagers on the old village site.

The Opposition of the Generations

Segmentation arises as more and more security-groups, the daughters of women, reach adulthood, and as the sons of the same women become old enough to undertake responsibilities for the care of the women. There is, in this situation, a fundamental opposition of generations. A woman is bound to her own sisters and at the same time she is bound to her daughters. These bonds come into conflict when her daughters want to express their unity against their mother's sister's daughters. The mother must decide whether she will go with her daughters to their new village site, or whether she will stay with her sisters and possibly with her own brother. I found consistently that a mother seldom stayed in a village when her daughters were moving out of it. The bond with her children is stronger than that with her sisters. Yet the conflict is clearly present. It finds expression in the kinship terminology. A daughter is usually identified with her mother's mother. A woman's daughter's daughter inherits her name, her position and her property in much the same way as a man succeeds his mother's brother.[1] When this has taken place the terms of address of her parental generation are now reversed. In other words her mother's brother instead of calling her, 'sister's child' (*ziyaw*), calls her 'mother' (*amaw*). Sometimes the qualificative *alamanjo* ('who has returned') is used to signify the difference. Her mother's mother's husband even before the succession has taken place calls her 'my wife', and I have recorded one or two marriages between a man and his wife's daughter's daughter. A man's daughter's daughter must also perform some of the funeral rites for her grandfather after his wife has died.[2]

We have among the Yao, therefore, the familiar principle of

[1] See Chap. V, p. 121.

[2] She cooks the ritual meal which he eats at the end of mourning to protect himself against *ndoka*. Here she ritually fills her mother's mother's place.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

when I visited it in 1947.[1] The basic structure of this village is set out in Diagram 5. Here the headman[2] was the last surviving member of the dominant matrilineage. The founder of the village, his mother's brother, had thirteen direct concubines. Some of these were barren but others produced children to give this complex structure. In this village the 33 huts were arranged in 16 different affiliations. The details are set out in Table XXIX. These groups were held together by Mpumbe IV, old, blind and doddering as he was. The virtual leader of the village was his elder brother's son, a man in his late forties or early fifties. When Mpumbe died, late in 1948, the people said that it was because of the sorcery of his brother's son who wished to take over the name of the village. This led to a dispute, which ended in the brother's son's leaving to found a new village about 15 miles away. A distant sister's son, as I have said, succeeded to the headmanship, and the reduced village was retained under this new leader.

However, this is an extremely unusual type of village as most villages, if they are not simple matrilineal groups, have only one patrilineally-linked group living with them. The reasons for this are firstly, that if patrilineally-linked matrilineages develop at all in the modern villages, they move out very soon after the death of their progenitor, and, secondly, that there are very few of the old slave-raiders' villages left intact.

Cross-cousin and Other Kinds of Intra-village Marriages

A most important factor in the welding of patrilineally-linked groups to the dominant matrilineage is marriage. The tradition of cross-cousin marriage is very strong among the Yao. A person may marry either type of cross-cousin but in practice preference is given to a father's sister's daughter—i.e. the woman is married to her mother's brother's son. There is a special term for cross-cousins, *asidwani*, which is used by either male or female talking to either sex. Between cross-cousins, especially cross-sexually, there is a joking-relationship which may vary all the way ffrom ribald joking to sexual advances. Some of my male informants say that sexual intercourse may take place between cross-cousins

[1] See also Chap. VI, p. 161, and Chap. III, p. 59.

[2] He died late in 1948 and was succeeded by a distant 'sister's son' from the village of his perpetual son, Ngungundo.

[text continues on p. 199]

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

'if the women are stupid enough to allow it'. The kinship terminology is consistent with the assumption that every man marries his cross-cousin, except that the father's sister's husband is not called 'father-in-law', but 'father'. The mother's brother's wife is called *shenyue* (parent-in-law). The husband of a cross-cousin is called *nguwo* (younger brother), on the reasoning that if a man does not marry his cross-cousin, then his younger brother will. Dr. Meredith Sanderson told me that it was once the custom for a man to ask a prospective wife's cross-cousin before he proposed marriage because it was assumed that the woman's cross-cousin had first right to her hand. As far as I could ascertain this politeness is no longer observed.

The children of cross-cousins are called 'my children'. In addition to this a person calls his mother's mother's brother's son or mother's father's sister's son, 'father', and his mother's mother's brother's daughter or mother's father's sister's daughter, 'female father', a term which he applies also to his father's sister.

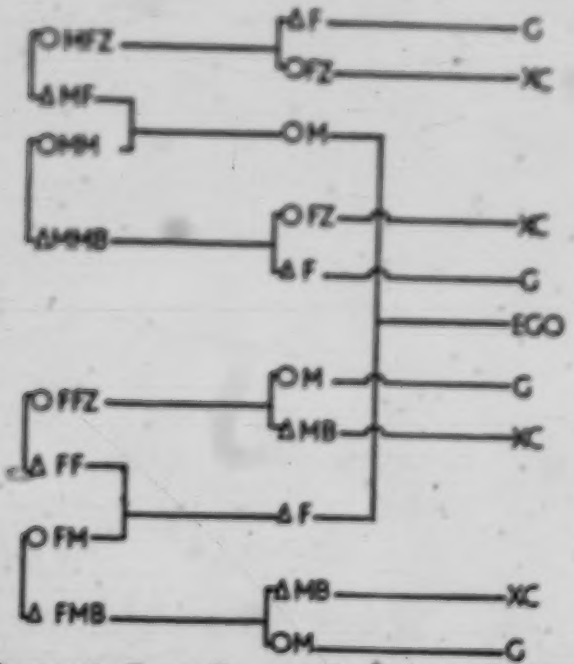


DIAGRAM 6. KINSHIP TERMS FOR PARENTS' CROSS-COUSINS.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

601 A person calls his father's mother's brother's daughter and father's
605 father's sister's daughter, 'mother'; his father's mother's brother's son or his father's father's sister's son, 'mother's brother'. Diagram 6 illustrates this. This is consistent with the assumption that each parent has married his cross-cousin.

503 Conversation with informants gives the impression that cross-cousin marriages are very common. They say, for example, that every man's first marriage ought to be to his cross-cousin. But in fact, of 103 first marriages, only 15 per cent were to real or classificatory cross-cousins, though 21 per cent were to other types of kinsmen. Marriages to other types of kinsmen are loosely called cross-cousin marriages, and often what has been called a cross-cousin marriage in conversation turns out to be marriage to a cross-cousin's daughter or something similar. This may be the reason why casual conversation leads one to imagine that cross-cousin marriage is so frequent.

601 But cross-cousinship is particularly significant when seen in
605 relation to village structure. Typically, villages, if they are not
613 built around a simple matrilineage, are composed of a dominant matrilineage and one or more lineages linked patrilaterally to it. Sometimes there are groups in a village which are connected by a patrilateral link to a matrilineage which is in turn linked patrilaterally to the dominant lineage. In other words, there are some lineages connected by a double patrilateral link to the dominant lineage. But this is not common. These linked groups have arisen because one or more of the men of the dominant lineage have brought their wives to live in their village. The set of kinship terms applied to members of the linked lineage by members of the dominant lineage are shown in Diagram 7. We have already seen that Ego, whether man or woman, calls his or her mother's mother's brother's son or daughter 'father' or 'female father'. This usage is consistent with the assumption that one's mother ought to have married her mother's brother's son so that the mother's maternal uncle's son should be called 'father'. On the same reasoning, one's mother's mother's brother's daughter should be one's father's sister and the appropriate term 'female father' is accordingly applied. Because uxorilocal marriage is the custom, Ego's mother's mother's brother's son marries out of the village and his children belong to another lineage. The children of Ego's mother's mother's

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

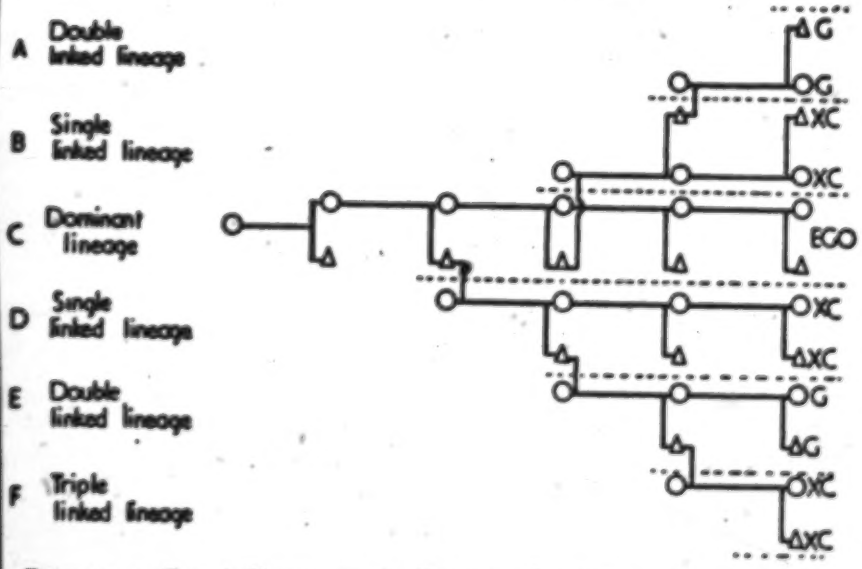


DIAGRAM 7. KINSHIP TERMS BETWEEN DOMINANT LINEAGE AND PATRILATERALLY-LINKED GROUPS.

brother's daughter, however, are members of the linked lineage and they are called 'cross-cousin' by Ego and members of the dominant lineage in Ego's generation. The children of 'cross-cousins' are called 'my children'. Hence, Ego and those in his generation in the dominant lineage call all those in the first descending generation in the linked lineage 'my children'.

I have used as an example a lineage which is linked to Ego's lineage through his mother's mother's brother. But the kinship terminology is unaltered if the link occurs in any ascending generation. In Diagram 7 I have set out the kinship terms applied by the dominant lineage to members in the linked lineage where the connection is through Ego's mother's mother's mother's brother.

The argument would run as follows:

Ego's MM calls Ego's MMMBD cross-cousin.
Therefore Ego's M calls Ego's MMMBD female father;
therefore Ego's M calls Ego's MMMBDD cross-cousin;
therefore Ego calls Ego's MMMBDD female father;
therefore Ego calls Ego's MMMBDDD cross-cousin.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

601 To Ego therefore, in a lineage linked through one patrilateral link:

685 Any person in the first ascending generation is 'father' or
613 'female father'.

Any person in the same generation is 'cross-cousin'.

Any person in the first descending generation is 'child'.

Those in the second ascending generation are called 'grandparent' and those in the second descending generation are called 'grandchildren'. By the merging of alternate generations, those in the second ascending and second descending generation may also be called 'cross-cousin'.

Where the subsidiary lineage is connected to the dominant lineage through two patrilateral links the kinship terms for siblings is applied to Ego's generation. In Diagram 7 the linked lineage marked A is connected to the dominant lineage through Ego's MMBS. Ego calls his mother's mother's brother's son 'father' and, therefore, calls his mother's mother's brother's sons' children by the appropriate sibling terms.

If a subsidiary lineage were connected through three patrilateral links the kinship nomenclature would be the same as if there were only one link. Lineages connected to dominant lineages through two or more patrilateral links are very rare. Most subsidiary lineages are connected through one patrilateral link only. In any village the generation differences between members of dominant and subsidiary lineages tend to be obscured. The Yao tend to see the component lineages as wholes, and therefore speak of the relationships between members of the dominant lineage and members of the subsidiary lineages in general as 'cross-cousinship' (*aswani*). It is only in special situations that the exact relationship becomes important.

605 The pattern of behaviour between cross-cousins is consistent
578 with this view of their rôles in the make-up of a village. In the
621 typical Yao village there are two or three groups who are united in their extra-village affairs but opposed in internal relationships. Their hostility to each other comes to the surface at the slightest provocation, but they are, nevertheless, co-villagers. They are kin and yet not kin, because the Yao look upon kinship as primarily matrilineal. They talk of the link through the father as 'not proper kinship'. The hostility between the members of the different cross-cousin groups in the village is dissipated

3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

There has never been any shortage of land and therefore the plotting out of gardens was a matter which caused little trouble. A man wishing to make a new garden the next season simply marked the site in the bush by scoring some trees or hoeing around some patches of grass and tying the grass ends into a knot. If anyone else came along and hoed this plot, the man who had marked it out still claimed it and need not pay for the hoeing done. Whenever a man was doubtful about a piece of land, he would ask advice of the headman of the village.

When an abandoned garden had become overgrown, anyone wishing to take it up applied to the headman who sent him to ask the original owners whether they wished to take it up again. The newcomer could take possession only with their permission.

Often if a village were moved, during the first season the people simply put up shelters in their gardens. Later, the site of the village was chosen and around it a medicine man sprinkled medicine to insure happiness and prosperity. The tree from which this medicine was made became sacred to the village and might not be used for firewood, or was subject to any other taboo the medicine man might care to make. He might also say, "In this village there shall be no pounding of grain at night," etc.

If a village were to be built near a spot previously inhabited, medicine and offerings were made to the departed spirits of the former occupants to put them at rest and "open" the place to the newcomers. The beer-pot from the grave of some former chief or headman, who was supposed to have directed the destinies of the old village, was brought to the new location and beer placed in it to insure his continued guidance.

In the case of a village into which a number of men had married, the sponsors of the wives went to the sponsors of the husbands and asked permission to move the village.[1] Later, beer was brewed in the new village and the sponsors invited to come and drink and "put feet in the new village."

Relationship. Family relationship among natives presents certain difficulties to the European accustomed to equivalent relationship of males and females on both sides of the family. In the diagram below (Fig. 1) the relationship of the two children (C 5) will be traced. The mother and father (B 10 and 9) are the subjects and were but addressed as *amao* and *atati*. The maternal uncles elder and younger than the mother (B 11 and 15) are called *akambomo* and their wives (B 12 and 16) *akaapao*. The maternal aunts are addressed as *amao*, mother, anyone older than the mother being distinguished as *amao wakulungwe*, "the bigger" (B 13), a younger aunt as *amao wamandi*, "the lesser" (B 17); their respective husbands are addressed *atati*, *atati wakulungwe* (B 14), and *atati wamandi* (B 18). On the father's side the uncles are called *atati wakulungwe* (B 1) and *atati yamandi* (B 5), respectively, for those older and younger than the father, and their wives *amao wakulungwe* (B 2) and *amao wamandi* (B 6). The paternal aunts are called *atati wakungwe* (female uncles) (B 3 and 7), their husbands (B 4 and 8) *atati*.

[1] Vide supra, p. 228.

593 601 The children of maternal uncles (C 6 and 8) and of paternal aunts (C 2 and 4) are called *cousins sakwisanani* (sing. *sakwisani*), and, conversely, the children of maternal aunts (C 7 and 9) and of paternal uncles (C 1 and 3) are called "brothers and sisters"; one would address the other as "*shemasili*" or "*sakwisani*," but either is admissible to the other.

601 605 It is interesting, therefore, to note that cousinship is of two kinds: the relationship between a child and his maternal aunts' children or his paternal uncles' children is *mwako*, whereas the relationship with his maternal uncles' children or his paternal aunts' children is *sakwisani*.

611 It is easily understood why the maternal aunts' children are considered as brothers and sisters, as among the Yao, matrilineal descent is the rule, the children taking the clan of

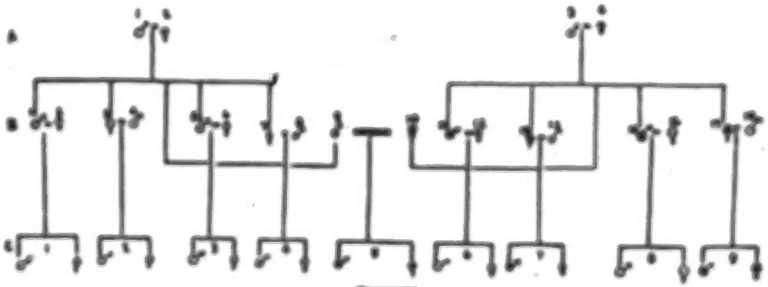


FIGURE 1

the mother. In the diagram, this is indicated in black. That the paternal uncles' children bear the same relationship would seem to indicate that matrilineal descent is not absolute but that dual descent from both parents is recognized.

Children C 5 may not marry C 7 and 9, nor C 1 and 3. In the case of the former, this is because persons of the same clan may not marry, but in the case of the latter, no such reason is given but they are simply said to be brothers and sisters. Children C 5 may 583 marry their cousins C 6 and 8 and C 2 and 4, but this is not very common as it is said such marriages are always unhappy.

601 604 The wife of a maternal uncle (B 12) speaks of her nephew by marriage (C 5) as *mwao*, husband, because, in the event of her husband's death, this nephew would inherit from him and he might marry the widow.

601 A parent-in-law or child-in-law is called *mkwapwe* indifferently. Paternal and maternal grand-parents, and great-uncles and aunts are all called *anhuju*; a grand-child, *chizukulu*.

The words *atati* and *amao* commonly mean father and mother, but, as given above, there are other words for these two parents, whereas *atati* and *amao* are applied to certain aunts

3: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1912) 1922 FT7 Yao FT7

and uncles as well. I am inclined to believe that the words primarily refer to a person's maternal and paternal relatives whose children bear the relationship of *wasaka* to the person. A strange point, however, crops up, namely, that the paternal aunts are called *atati* (*atati wakuyaya*) and their husbands *atati* again.

An elder brother is *akulu*, his younger brother *mpanikasi*, a sister *mlumbu*, *mlumbu wanandi* and *mlumbu wakulanyasi*, younger and elder sister.

Disease. Apart from old age, the native recognises in all illness and death the hand of an enemy or the result of transgression of some custom: some one has made medicine against him, or he or some one else has broken a custom founded on superstition which is visited on his head. These ideas are so deeply rooted in the native mind that it is with difficulty any appropriate treatment will be received. They rely, rather, on some medicine-man to cure them by medicine more powerful than that made against them. Even an ordinary accident or an attack of pneumonia is accounted for in this way.

The names given in speaking of sicknesses are, of course, applied rather to symptoms, but in some cases where the symptom named is pathognomic of a disease, the word practically stands for the disease. The word used may imply the supposed cause or refer to a resemblance to some object, or again simply state the part affected; thus *chitumbo* (the belly) meaning stomach ache, *meso* (eyes), conjunctivitis, etc.

The following words most of which are found in the Reverend Dr. Hetherwick's *Yao Language*, give some idea of the Yao native's conception of disease. The sense which the above authority gives is not always quite the same as I would venture to give. I shall not enter into the question of the diseases as such but only in so far as they bear on customs, etc.

The word *chiluvale* signifies any disease or illness; *chilepe* and *chipindupindu* refer to epidemic diseases; the former refers to a disease of fowls and dogs characterised by wheezing and hence is occasionally used for bronchitis in man. *Chipindupindu* refers to a series of deaths from a cause unknown to the natives. The word *chaola*, which Hetherwick gives as meaning a plague, rather means arrow poison, I think.

Chombolo: a liver disease of fowls.

Chipapo: a congenital deformity of any kind (*kupapwa* = to be born with).

Chitussimu: a patch of white hair on the scalp of congenital origin.

Chisisenesi (a cousin): the word used for a birth-mark or freckle; beliosl fistula is also included. Children examine each other to see how many "cousins" each has; anyone with none is made fun of.

Chinduudumuli (*kuudumula* = a big lump): a hunchback.

Chiwululu (*ku-wululu* = to split): a "splitting" headache, or more commonly, medicine by means of which the possessor can inflict pain or death.

Ching'alang'ala: a localised pain in the head.

Chiyungunyungu: giddiness.

5: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1948) 1949 FT7 Yao FT7

ship. The difficulties of his position are brought home to the neophyte village headman in speeches made by old and experienced men. On one such occasion I heard a man say, ' Some men who marry into a village are bad and can split a village like this one by telling lies to the headman, saying that his sisters are talking behind his back and are insulting him. When a headman hears all this he might break his village by ill-treating his relatives, thus causing himself to be left all alone.' In this way the headman's responsibility for maintaining harmonious relations between the members of the village and himself is emphasized. His failure to do so results in what they call a break in the village—the departure of some of the members to live elsewhere—which is a severe blow to the status of the headman. In fact, he is dependent on his dependants for status, and the Yao are quick to point this out to neophyte headmen, saying, ' A tree cannot grow without branches.'

We can better understand the situation if we consider the social structure of the Yao village a little more closely. The Yao are a matrilineal people and are dominantly matrilocal. They live in small groups of huts scattered fairly evenly over the country and from a few hundred yards to possibly a mile or so apart. Such clusters may contain as few as five or as many as sixty or more huts, occupied by between 20 and 200 people.

These people are almost always kinsfolk, and in the smaller villages they are usually all either matrilineal descendants of a common ancestress or their spouses. In the larger groups there is a more complex situation which I shall analyse below. In the simpler groups there may be no male matrilineal descendant in the village and the leadership of the group is taken over by a senior female descendant of the founder of the village. Usually, however, if the group is large, one of the male matrilineal descendants lives patrilocally in the village and assumes leadership.

The relationship between a male matrilineal descendant and the female matrilineal descendants who are in his charge is signified by the word ' *mbumba* '. The word particularly refers to the relationship between a man and his sisters and I have therefore translated it as ' sorority-group '. It includes a man's full sisters, matrilineal female collaterals (whom he calls sisters), their female children, and the female children of those female children, and so on. It is usually used in the sense of ' somebody's sorority-group '. A man belonging to the descent-group of the sorority-group may refer to these women as ' our sorority-group '. The man who is in charge of the sorority-group is referred to as the *ajemi mbumba*. This could be translated as ' owner of the sorority-group ' but because of the property associations with the word ' owner ' in our language, I have instead translated this as ' warden of the sorority-group ' which expresses more accurately the relationship between a man and his female relatives. Even in those groups where there is a female in charge of the village and no male matrilineal descendant is resident in the group, there is usually some one man, possibly married in some other village, who is warden of the sorority-group. The warden of a sorority-group has certain precise duties to perform on behalf of his charges. First, he is concerned with the good relations between members of the sorority-group and with other such groups. He has to settle most of the domestic quarrels that take place between members of the sorority-groups. Second, and this is considered to be a most important function, he is the person who is the

643 mon ancestress. The first Kawinga and the first
551 Liwonde were maternal brothers and to this day
175 Kawinga and Liwonde call each other "brother".
[601] Nyambi however was a sister's son of an early leader Mkumba who was the father of Nkata, and their clan-name was *amilasi*. Nkata therefore called Nyambi "father".[3] Nkata was the first to move into Nyasaland and Mkumba and Nyambi followed afterwards. Later the Nkata name was dropped and an Arabic name Zarafi, corrupted to Jalasi, was substituted. Hence the present Jalasi calls the present Nyambi "father". Kawinga and Liwonde both call Nyambi *alamu*, or brother-in-law, it is said because one of the early Nyambi's married a woman who bore the clan-name of *ambewe*.

643 The groups under Kawinga and Nkata entered
175 Nyasaland and gradually expanded until Jalasi,
648 as he became known, dominated the area around Mount Mangoce in the present Fort Johnston District, and Kawinga, safely ensconced on Mount Cikala, dominated most of the area north of this point. Jalasi, Kawinga and Liwonde were heavily defeated by British forces in 1895-6 and driven out of British Territory. Later on they were allowed to return after they had been ordered to surrender and effectively disarmed. When they had returned, the chiefs were virtually ignored and as far as can be ascertained the effect of the British government was to destroy the power of the chiefs and substitute the system of British administration for theirs. Nevertheless, it is apparent from entries in the District Book that even though it were not the official policy, the administrating officers considered it important that the chiefs should maintain some power. Thus when Kawinga III died in August 1905 the District Book records: "There were two claimants to the succession, Kumlomba and Chiwalo. Their claims were really very equal and H. M. Commissioner (April 1906) called in Kumlomba and the most important headmen and decided the succession by their vote." The

8: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1947) 1949 FT7 Yao FT7
[P.146C]

643
551

[601]

[1] The Nyumbi chieftaincy developed from the Nkata line as explained below.

[2] The clan names of the Yao unlike those of most other Central African tribes, appear not to refer to common objects of everyday life. I could not get a translation of *mahewo* and of most other clan-names.

[3] A man calls his father's sister's son *mwinamu* (cross-cousin) but since this cross-cousin should in due course succeed to the (man's) father's name, he may also call his cross-cousin "father".

9.Lawson Y-5 (ca. 1940)1949 FT? Yao FT?
MARAVI FRY

[P. 180C]

and Yao tribes, who there predominate. These peoples seem to have come from different parts of the continent. Their languages, despite a common Bantu descent and much recent borrowing, remain as distinct as possible and are obviously not modern dialects of one more primitive tongue; their original social structures must, however, have been similar enough to attract them to each other, for they have so intermarried and their customs so fused, that one can now scarcely distinguish their ways of life and village organization. Indeed, while homesteads of apparently pure Nyanja and Yao still predominate, every considerable district contains members of both tribes, with some people, at least, of mixed descent; moreover, and although one perceive a difference of character and manners, and trace it to the influence of Mohammedanism on the Yaos, one may well be unconaciously exaggerating. This account of relationship terms, (with brief reference to underlying social structure), must be taken, therefore, to cover the fusion of two once-separate tribes, and Nyanja and Yao equivalents must—unless otherwise stated—be understood as identical in meaning. In fact, Nyanja often prefer Yao terms to their own.

How far can one isolate the Nyanja-Yao social structure in order to study it? Ngoni immigrants in this district are few, and their original patrilineal social system has largely succumbed to the customs of these earlier comers. The matrilineal system of the still more recent and numerous Lomwe immigrants is, I believe, (though my evidence is fragmentary), exerting a considerable influence on the somewhat dissimilar but also matrilineal Nyanja and Yao.

9:Lawson T-5 (ca. 1940)1949 FT7 Yao FT7 MARRI FR4
[P. 182 B]

all kinds of quarrels. As she, like her daughter after her, married a cross-cousin from Saima village, her husband is a Milanzi, and although a man of character whose advice is welcomed, and called ***ambuye*** by Abena's generation, his voice has not the same weight as hers in deciding village affairs.

Abena the girl, then, grows up under the care of her mother's mother, who by naming her at birth claimed her as her heir and especial trust, and who singles her out from her younger brothers, sisters and cousins by the way she addresses and treats this first-born and favourite. As personal names are not normally used or referred to in conversation, Abena I speaks of, and to, Abena II as ***mdzukulu***, (the name used to cover all grand-children, besides a man's nephews and nieces, and so best translated as "heir"). More commonly the old woman and the girl call each other respectively, ***mkulu wanga***, (i.e. "my elder sibling of the same sex", between women "my elder sister"), and "***mphwanga***", (i.e. "my younger sibling of the same sex", between women "my little sister"). The Yao term ***chemwali***, which may be exactly translated as "elder sister", is also often used, as is the familiar reciprocal term—between all grand-parents and grand-children, ***anganga*** ; but the special titles used between a person and his or her name-child and heir are ***nzinanga***, (literally, "my namesake"), and ***bwenzi langa***, ("my friend, lover").

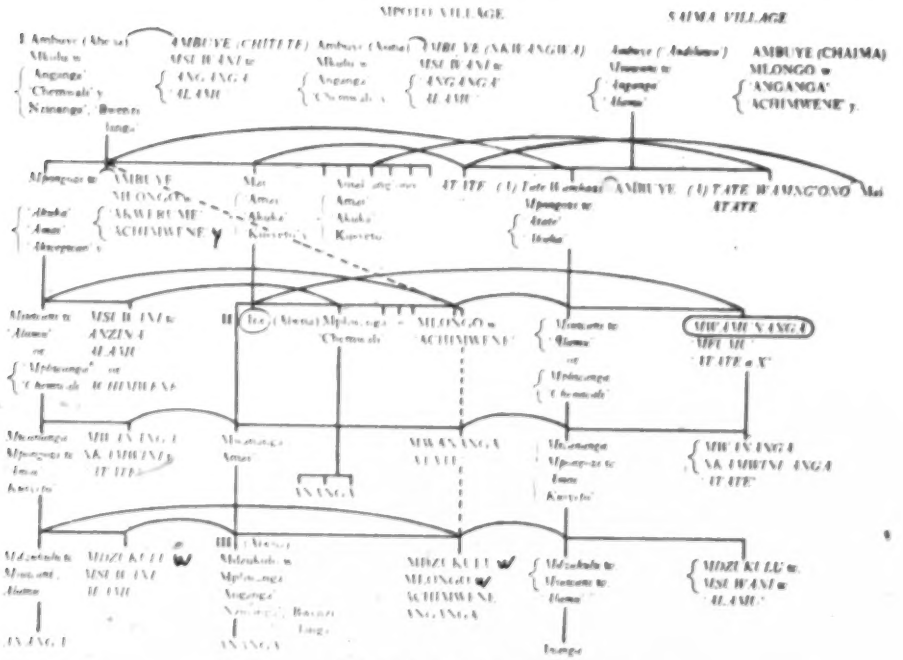
But Abena II has other ***ambuye*** in the village. Her grand-mother's younger sisters and their husbands are called by this same name, and all call her ***mdzukulu*** and encourage her to treat them with the like friendly confidence. More familiarly, the old women and the girl may speak of each other as ***mkulu wanga*** and address each other as ***chemwali***—Abena II would not be called ***mphwanga*** because she is potentially their elder sister, the future ***ambuye*** of the village—while the old men and the girl can speak of each other as ***mwawani wanga***, (my cross-cousin), and address each other as ***alamu***, (brother-or-sister-in-law). These last names I will explain later, when discussing the relationship between Abena

n 582 M Y. 601

9:Lawson Y-5 (ca. 1940) 1949 FT7 Yao FT7 MARRI FRY [p183]

CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE

TABLE X



KEY TO TABLES X AND Y

1. Members of Mzoli clan, born at Mpoto village, as matrilineal type. Members of Mpinzi clan, born at N'dwa village, as matrilineal type.
2. Capital letters signify males, small letters females.
3. [illegible] means the man 'A' has married the women 'B' and 'C'.
4. I, II, III, signify female inheritance of the title *ambuye*, that is, headwoman of the homestead, and the family name "Ahewa".
5. I, II, III, and dotted lines, signify male inheritance of the title *ambuye*, that is, headman of the homestead, and of the family name "Nawa".
6. w = mwanga (boy). y = Yao as opposed to Nyanja name or title.

[P. 186A]

ABENA AND THE BOYS ARE "ALONGO," (SIBLINGS OF OPPOSITE SEX REGARDLESS OF RESPECTIVE AGES), TO EACH other, and address one another generally by the Yao terms of *achimwene* to a boy and *chemwali* to a girl.

Behaviour between true, and almost equally between classificatory, brothers and sisters suggests deep and lasting affection — far deeper affection than does that between man and wife. When, at or before puberty, Abena's betrothal is arranged, her eldest brother will be the go-between ; later, she may turn to him, and through him to her mother's brother, for advice and help in adjusting herself to married life, and in any serious quarrels with her husband. There are no taboos between them, and if her brother is benighted near the home village on his way to his wife's home, Abena can share her supper with him and give up to him her sleeping-mat. True brothers and sisters are so close that they consider each others' husband or wife as by adoption a blood relation, calling them brother or sister. (*mphwanga*, *mnjiranga* between those of the same sex, and *alongwanga* or *achimwene chemwali* between those of opposite sex). I believe this is the only instance of a term describing a relationship within the matrilineal family group being applicable also to cross-cousin affinity and even to strangers from a far village. Most informants declare that it would be unthinkable incest to marry a deceased brother's wife or sister's husband, yet not all are ready to call them brother and sister.

As the Nyanja are an agricultural rather than a pastoral people, there is no rigid division of all labour between the sexes, nor of boys and girls into age-groups ; as in a modern European family, "brothers" and "sisters" play together freely in childhood, and still, though less freely, in adolescence. However, the girls of the village form a loose group with Abena at their head. Growing up together from infancy they learn from each other and through imitating the grown-ups, (*akulu*), until play develops into work, and at an early age the little girls become less of a burden than an asset to the *mbumba*. At eight or nine Abena can pound maize into flour and cook porridge with a relish of leaves, carry heavy water-jars from the stream, scratch up weeds

9:Lawson Y-5 (ca. 1940) 1949 FT7 Yao FT7
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[P. 189 C]

[1] It is interesting here to compare the Nyanja and Yao with certain patrilineal peoples. Junod, finding similar behaviour patterns to the mother's brother and father's sister among the patriarchal Ba-ronga of Portuguese East Africa as among matriarchal people, traces them to a hypothetical early matriarchal stage of social organization. Radcliffe-Browne, however, in his article on the Mother's Brother in S. Africa, suggests a different origin. At least two other non-Bantu patriarchal tribes—the Polynesian Tonga and the Nama Hottentots—are like the Ba-ronga in these behaviour patterns. May this behaviour not spring simply from a tendency to extend to one's mother's and father's groups behaviour suitable to mother and father respectively?

This explanation would not, as of course Radcliffe-Browne realizes, apply to a matriarchal people like the Nyanja, where one keeps at a respectful distance from one's father's sister, but is more under the authority of one's mother's brother than of one's father.

11: Sanderson D-5 (ca.1920) 1920 FT7 Yao FT7

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THE WAYAO.

By MEREDITH SANDERSON,
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Introductory.—Various writers have attempted to give English equivalents to the Yao terms describing relationship, or have alluded to the outstanding features of the system, but I am not aware that anybody has hitherto worked out the whole system. [121]

Although it is very similar to other classificatory systems, I feel that a description of it may not be quite valueless, more especially on account of the evolutionary changes that are taking place.

The WaYao are a Bantu tribe, exogamous but not totemic, which until the middle of the last century inhabited that part of Central Africa lying to the East of Lake Nyasa, particularly in the valleys of the Lujenda and Rovuma rivers. Up to that time the tribe had not extended far from the area indicated except perhaps in a northerly direction, but owing to constant internecine war in their own territory the Yaos then invaded and conquered a large part of the neighbouring territories, especially to the south, in what is now called Nyasaland. [101] [131]

I have said that the WaYao are not totemic, and that statement is correct at the present time. Opinions differ, however, as to how recent their loss of totemism is; though their initiation ceremonies are generally regarded as totemic, even there, in my opinion, the evidence is not conclusive, and there remains no suspicion of totemism outside those ceremonies. [111]

It should be mentioned that Islam is much more prevalent among the Yaos than among their neighbours, but its influence is not yet so deep-rooted as greatly to obscure the pure tribal customs, except to a certain extent among the rising generation. [197]

To facilitate description the relationships are given in tabular form, the relationship being given with reference to one man or woman. [128]

In Table I, Column 1 describes the relationship, Column 2 gives either the nearest equivalent of the Yao term, or, if none, the actual terms. Columns 3–9 give the various relations of the person named in Column 1, as they would be named by the man or woman under consideration. 601

For example, the brother of (a)'s father (Column 1) is regarded as (a)'s father (Column 2), the wife of (a)'s father's brother is (a)'s *alongo* (Column 3), their child a his "brother" or "sister" (Column 4), and so on (see Table I).

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601 In Table II, the relationships mentioned in Column 1 are defined in Columns 2-9.

Thus a brother (of (*a*)) is, *inter alia*, the son of (*a*)'s father's brother (Column 3), the husband of the daughter of (*a*)'s father's sister (Column 4), and so on (see Table II).

Before the tables can be fully intelligible, however, a brief explanation of terms having no English equivalent is necessary :—

(*a*) *Akwego* and *Alamu* are terms exclusively given to relations by marriage.

Alamu is a brother or sister by marriage—it is not advisable to use the terms "brother-in-law" or "sister-in-law" as they are too circumscribed.

Akwego has not even an approximate equivalent in English owing to the diversity of relationships included (*e.g.*, wife's mother and great-grand-daughter's husband).

Msidzani is a special term given to the children of a paternal aunt or maternal uncle, to distinguish them from those of a paternal uncle or maternal aunt.

[582] *Msidzani* are not only allowed to marry but are encouraged to do so.

Akwetuna is used only for a maternal uncle, and *chipwa* is the reciprocative term for a sister's son.

The use of inverted commas with English terms (*e.g.*, "brother") indicates that the person is regarded by the Yao as being of the same relation to him as the term usually signifies in English. Thus a Yao regards the son of his maternal aunt, for instance, as being exactly the same relation as his own brother (by the same parents); this relationship is indicated as "brother."

601 428 *Succession.* The common rule of discriminating between the children of a brother and sister and those of two brothers or of two sisters is present here, and is combined with the equally common one of succession to the sister's son.

The rule of succession is, strictly speaking, to the eldest son of the eldest sister. If, however, a man and his advisers consider him to be unsuitable, or in event of his death, the succession passes to the following in order of precedence: younger son of the eldest sister, younger son of a younger sister, and son of own daughter.

Only by general consent can the succession pass elsewhere, but it not infrequently happens that intrigue procures the death of all the legal heirs of a wealthy or powerful man. In such cases, but only by general consent, the succession may pass to a brother (by the same mother), any "son," or even to a powerful vassal; it is often felt that a wealthy or influential man is likely to conduce to the peace and welfare of the country rather as the chief, than as a probably turbulent vassal of a man whose succession is apt to be controversial. On the death of such a man, however, matters are often in a state of chaos owing to the multitude of claimants, the members of the two families; I have known two such cases. A man, also, who

[TEXT CONTINUES ON PAGE 374--ANALYST]

TABLE I.—*Showing the Yao relationships of one person.*

1. English Relationship.	2. Yao Relationship.	3. Relationship of Wife or Husband.	4. Relationship of Child.	5. Relationship of Child's Wife or Husband.	6. Relationship of Grandchild.	7. Relationship of Grandchild's Wife or Husband.	8. Relationship of Great-Grandchild.	9. Relationship of Great-Grandchild's Wife or Husband.
Own father	Father	Mother	Brother or sister	*Alamu*				
Own father's brother	Father	*Alwopo*	Brother or sister	*Alamu*				
Own father's sister	Father	Father	*Meiāmi*	Brother or sister				
Own mother	Mother	Father	Brother or sister	*Alamu*				
Own mother's brother	*Alwalamu*	*Alwopo*	*Meiāmi*	Brother or sister				
Own mother's sister	Mother	Father	Brother or sister	*Alamu*				
Husband or wife's father	*Alwopo* (father)	*Alwopo*	*Alamu*	Brother or sister				
Husband or wife's father's brother	*Alwopo* (father)	*Alwopo*	*Alamu*	Brother or sister	Child	*Alwopo*	Grandchild	*Alwopo*
Husband or wife's father's sister	*Alwopo* (father)	*Alwopo* (father)	Brother or sister	*Alamu*				
Husband or wife's mother	*Alwopo*	*Alwopo* (father)	*Alamu*	Brother or sister				
Husband or wife's mother's brother	*Alwopo* (father)	*Alwopo*	Brother or sister	*Alamu*				
Husband or wife's mother's sister	*Alwopo*	*Alwopo* (father)	*Alamu*	Brother or sister				
[1]Brother's wife's [1]brother or [1]sister	*Alamu*	Brother or sister	Child	*Alwopo*				
[1]Sister's husband's [1]brother or [1]sister	*Alamu*	Brother or sister	Child	*Alwopo*				
Husband's or wife's [1]brother's wife's [1]brother or [1]sister	Brother or sister	*Alamu*	Child	*Alwopo*	Grandchild	*Alwopo*	—	—
Husband's or wife's [1]sister's Husband's [1]brother or [1]sister	Brother or sister	*Alamu*	Child	*Alwopo*				
Own child	Child	*Alwopo*	Grandchild	*Alwopo*	—	—	—	—

[1] Including son or daughter of maternal aunt or paternal uncle.

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TABLE II.—*Defining Yao terms of relationship.*

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
Yao Term.	Own Father's or Mother's	Father's Brother's	Father's Sister's	Mother's Brother's	Mother's Sister's	Wife's or Husband's	Son's or Daughter's	Grandchild's
"Brother"	(a) Son (b) Husband of (a)'s wife's "sister"	(a) Son (b) Husband of (a)'s wife's "sister"	(a) Husband of daughter (b) Husband of (a)'s wife's "sister"	(a) Husband of daughter (b) Husband of (a)'s "sister"	(a) Son (b) Husband of (a)'s wife's "sister"	(a) Male *Anlomwi* (b) Husband of "sister" (c) "Brother's" wife's "brother" (d) "Sister's" husband's "brother"	—	—
"Sister"	(a) Daughter (b) Wife of (a)'s husband's "brother"	(a) Daughter (b) Wife of (a)'s husband's "brother"	(a) Wife of son (b) Wife of (a)'s husband's "brother"	(a) Wife of son (b) Wife of (a)'s "brother"	(a) Daughter (b) Wife of (a)'s husband's "brother"	(a) Female *Anlomwi* (b) Wife of "brother" (c) Brother's wife's "sister" (d) Sister's husband's "sister"	—	—
"Father"	"Sister" (of own father)	"Brother"	(a) "Brother" (b) Husband	—	Husband	(By courtesy) (a) Father (b) Father's brother (c) Father's sister (d) Husband of (c) (e) Husband of mother's sister (v. abuse)	—	—
"Mother"	"Sister" (of own mother)	—	—	"Sister"	"Sister"	—	—	—

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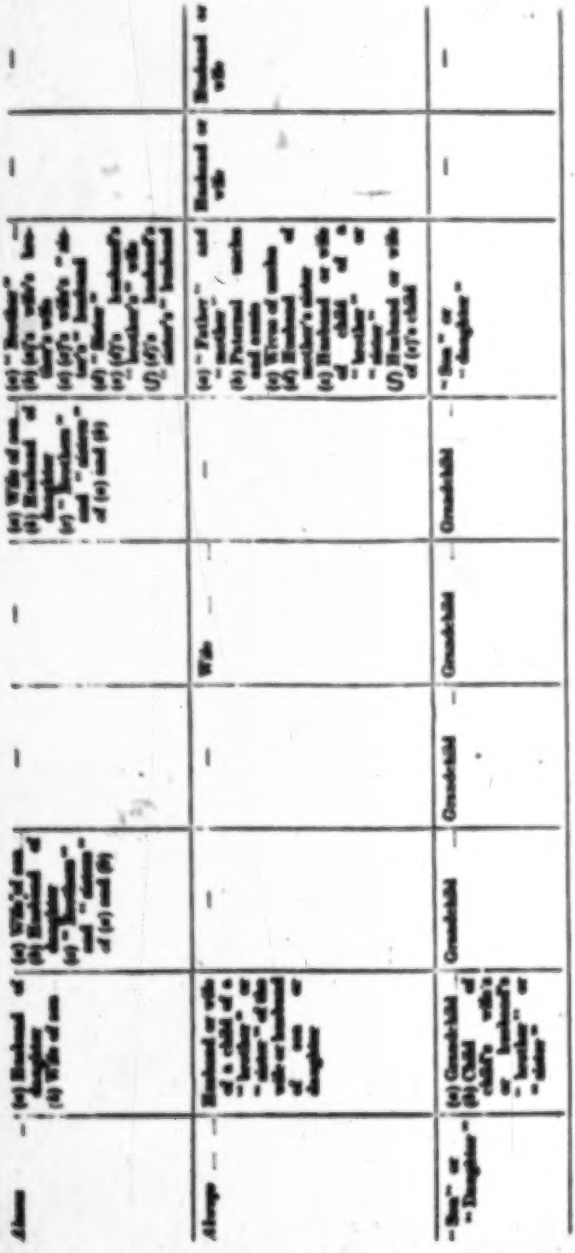

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601 428 knows that he is not legally justified in "entering into the name" is loath to do so, as he knows that he is not expected to make a successful chief. The defeat of Salimu, the fifth Makanjila, by the British in 1893 was, and still is, ascribed to the fact that he belonged to the male line.

The term *chipwa* (*mwipwaguwo*, "his *chipwa*") may be used for any child of a sister. A female title (common amongst the Yaos) descends to the eldest daughter of the eldest son of the bearer of the title.

582 601 587 *Marriage.*—Relatives who are forbidden to marry are called *achidawako*; they include all those given in the table except *asidusi*, *achiwesukulu* ("grandchildren"), and the wife of the maternal uncle. An heir, on succeeding, may marry the wife or wives of his maternal uncle, but not if he has previously married one of his daughters.

It is legal, though rare, for a man to marry the daughter of his own child (*chisukulu*).

614 601 "*Brothers*" *and* "*Sisters.*"—The term *ulongo* is used to describe an exogamous clan, and the members are known as *mlongo* (singular)—*achalongo* or *do chilongo*, collectively. This word *ulongo* is probably a corruption of *mu ulongo* ("in the clan") as it requires the use of the term *mjakwe* (*ajao*) "a companion," instead of the possessive pronoun. Thus *ulongo mjakwe* (*achilongo ajao*), "his (their) clan relatives" (instead of *ulongo jwakwe*, *achalongo wao*).

601 There is no general term corresponding to the English "brother." The nearest is *ulumbu*, which describes the relationship between a "brother" and a "sister," it is rarely used by women, however.

The elder "brother" of a man is called *akulu* or *achiwene*. These terms are used for all sons of a father's elder "brother" or of a mother's elder "sister," and for the elder brother by the same parents. They are also used by a woman for any "brothers," elder or younger, senior or junior, in preference to the term *ulumbu*.

Mpwanga is used for a son of a father's younger "brother" or of a mother's younger "sister," and for a younger brother by the same parents. It is used by a woman for her "sisters" in exactly the same way, but is never used by a woman of a man.

A man calls his "sister" *chemwali*, collectively, *wanajawo chemwali*; a girl refers to an elder, or senior "sister," by means of the same term; a man refers to a "sister" as *alumbuwangu* or as *chemwali*.

The term *chisukulu* is used for a "grandchild" (*mwisukuluwangu*, "my 'grandchild'").

"*Father*" *and* "*Mother.*"—A paternal aunt is distinguished as *atati wakongwe* ("female father") if necessary, though she is, of course, not addressed as such. The elder brother of a father is referred to as *atati wakulungwa* ("the great father"), his younger brother as *atati wanandi* ("the little father"). Other *achatati* are similarly distinguished.

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The alternative term, *wee*, common to nearly all Bantu languages, is usually reserved for "own father," but not always. 601

Latterly, though the relationship is really *akwayo*, the husbands of a man's "daughters" or "grand-daughters" are called *atati* in a complimentary sense, not of course in defining relationship.

The word *akwayo* is rapidly falling into desuetude for men, and is, nowadays, never used in speaking to a man of that relationship, though used freely as a mode of address to women.

Amao (or *achikulu-wangu*, *-wao*, etc., "my, his mother") may be further defined as "great" or "little" in the same manner as *atati*.

The parents of any *atati* or *amao*, and those of one's wife are called *ambuje* ("grandparent"). Great-grandparents are specified as "father" or "mother of my grandfather (or mother)."

The founder of a family is called *Likolo*, especially in prayer—except for the augmentative prefix obviously the same word as *Nawolo*," a parent," which includes all "fathers" and "mothers." [719]

It is curious in this connection that a name for little girls in general, if one does not know their real name, is *chikolo*. All these words seem to be derived from *-kala* ("have," "possess"), and refer, probably, either to actual or potential possession of offspring.

Achisangolo are distinguished as "male" or "female" according as they belong to the father's or mother's side—irrespective of their own sex.

Conclusions.—The Yao nomenclature of relationships, bearing as it does the evidence of former group marriages, is, like other classificatory systems, gradually changing in conformity with the development of the race, so that it can be used to express consanguinity; Rivers has, I believe, called attention to this process. 601 198 [101]

The Yao custom—now dying out—of lending one's wife to a visitor (usually a close friend) may be a remnant of ideas carried on from communal marriage, though such a privilege is never given to a relative. [834] [574]

In the same way a man who has had no children (a great stigma) may request his friend to help him—he will never ask a relative—and all of the three parties will keep the secret of the true paternity of any children resulting. [834] [840]

In many tribes the marriage of brother and sister, or a man with his sister's child, is permitted to compensate for the law by which a man's property goes to the son of a stranger, but nothing of the kind is allowed among the Yaos. Indeed, they view any incestuous union with particular horror, and such must be very rare. I have heard of a case of a man committing incest with the idea that he would thereby become endued with supernatural power, but all he gained was ostracism; in the old days he would have been burned. 588 835 [824]